

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

Vol. XXIX.]

WASHINGTON, MAY, 1853.

[No. 5.]

Colonization in Indiana.

The following proceedings will show what has been done by the authorities of the State of Indiana, with reference to the Colonizing in Liberia, at the expense of the State, of those free persons of color in that State who may desire assistance to enable them to emigrate.

The law providing for a State Organization, approved April 28, 1852, is as follows:

An Act providing for the colonization of Negroes and Mulattoes and their descendants—and appropriating five thousand dollars therefor—constituting a State Board of Colonization—declaring the duties of said board, and of State Treasurer and County Treasurers in relation thereto.

SECT. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That for the purpose of colonizing Negroes, Mulattoes and their descendants that were residents of this State on the first day of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, and shall continue to reside in this State, that the sum of five thousand dollars is appropriated out of the State Treasury for the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two, together with all fines collected for the violation of laws passed to carry out the provisions of article thirteen of the constitution of this State, and the voluntary contribution received for said purposes, shall constitute a State colonization fund, and be applied to the*

colonization in Africa of said Negroes, Mulattoes and their descendants.

SECT. 2. Three thousand dollars of the money appropriated out of the State Treasury shall be used for the purchase of land in Africa to be styled the Indiana Colony, which shall be appropriated in one hundred acre lots to such Negroes, Mulattoes, and their descendants, as designated in the first section of this act, as shall emigrate from this State to Africa, and occupy such land or control the same by resident acts of ownership, and first emigrants shall have first choice in location of certificates within said purchase, and the State Board of Colonization shall determine from what points the measurement of said lands shall commence, and issue to emigrants such certificates for location as shall secure to them their just rights. And that all colored persons that have heretofore been sent to Liberia from this State by any Colonization Society shall each be entitled to a certificate entitling them to one hundred acres of land within the territory so purchased.

SECT. 3. The State Board of Colonization are authorized to give to each Negro or Mulatto that shall be entitled to the benefit of this act, who shall emigrate to Africa, when they shall need aid for said purpose, the sum of fifty dollars out of the State Colonization fund, and said board shall determine the right of applicants, giving the preference to whole families when they shall desire it.

SECT. 4. The County Treasurers of the several counties of this State shall receive all donations in money to aid Colonization that may be offered, and take charge of all bequests, by will or otherwise, of real estate or any assets whatever,

and in cases of such bequests other than money, the board of county commissioners are hereby made a board of council in reference to such bequests, and shall instruct the said Treasurer to take such steps as in their judgment will make the assets bring the most in money, and as converted to pay over to the State Treasurer as heretofore provided at the time required by law they shall pay in the State revenue.

SECR. 5. The Governor, Auditor and Secretary of State, shall *ex officio* constitute the State Board of Colonization and as such have full powers, by correspondence with the officers of the Republic of Liberia or other persons, to carry out the provisions contemplated by the second section of this act, in acquiring title to land in Africa, and to do all other things contemplated they should, to carry out the provisions of this act, and shall report their proceedings to each General Assembly of the State.

SECR. 6. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer of State to receive from the County Treasurers all Colonization funds paid to him by them, and to pay out all such funds upon the order of the State Board of Colonization.

From the *Indiana State Sentinel* we take the following proceedings of the State Board of Colonization :

The State Board of Colonization, composed of the Governor, the Secretary of State, and Auditor of State, convened at the State House, in Indianapolis, on Thursday, the 24th of March, 1853. Hon. Isaac Blackford was called to the chair.

On motion of John P. Dunn, Esq., Joseph A. Wright, Governor of Indiana, was appointed President of the State Board of Colonization.

On motion of Nehemiah Hayden, Esq., Rev. James Mitchell was selected as the Agent and corresponding secretary.

On motion, the following gentlemen were appointed an advisory committee, to-wit : James Blake, William Sheets, Isaac Blackford, Isaac Coe, James M. Ray, Calvin Fletcher, J. S. Osgood, Daniel Yandes, William Hannaman, and John Wilkins.

Ordered, that one thousand dollars be remitted to Rev. Wm. McLain, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, for the payment of the expenses of such colored persons as desire to emigrate, under the authority of the State Board of Colonization, to Liberia.

On motion,

Resolved, That moneys appropriated by this board, shall be placed in the hands of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, at Washington City, to the credit of the State of Indiana, to be paid out by him on the application of negroes or mulattoes, who desire to emigrate to Liberia, by their presenting the certificate of the clerk of the county in which they reside, under the seal of such county, and due notice from the agent and corresponding secretary of the State Colonization Society.

Resolved, That the President of this board be requested to resume the correspondence with the President of Liberia, in regard to the purchase of a tract of land in Liberia for the accommodation of emigrants from this State.

Ordered, that the Agent and corresponding Secretary of the board be authorized to spend a portion of his time in the neighboring States of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, for the purpose of promoting the cause of Colonization, and that the President of this Board be directed to open a correspondence with the Governors of those States to obtain their co-operation in this work.

Resolved, That the corresponding Secretary be requested to make such arrangements with the railroad and steam-boat companies as will secure the passage of emigrants on the most favorable terms.

On motion, the Board adjourned.

JOSEPH A. WRIGHT,
President.

J. MITCHELL,
Secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Mitchell has been regularly commissioned by this Society as general agent for the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin; and we are pleased to see that the friends of colonization in Indiana have resolved to sustain him in the work. We bespeak for him the hearty co-operation of all our friends within the field of his labor.

[From the Philadelphia North American.]

Liberia.

WE give below portions of a letter from Mr. GERARD RALSTON, of London, to his friend, Mr. Elliott Cresson, of this city, enclosing an interesting communication from President ROBERTS to the former. The whole of this correspondence will be read with pleasure by the friends of African Colonization, and the facts and views presented by the writers will be found highly instructive by all classes of readers:

NO. 21 TOKEN HOUSE YARD,
London, March 16, 1853.

I send you on the other side a very interesting letter from President Roberts, by which you will see that Belgium has now acknowledged the independence of Liberia. This makes three royal Governments (Belgium, Great Britain, and Prussia) and two imperial ones, (Brazil and France,) altogether five, which acknowledge Liberia; while our Republic refuses to recognise this sister (or rather daughter, because the Liberians are our own countrymen) Republic, Liberia. This is very unfortunate. This must alienate Liberia from the mother country, particularly when England is doing the impossible to court and please Liberia, and is extending her commercial relations and business transactions in every possible manner.

The President and the lady Presidentess, being treated here with the utmost possible respect and consideration, were sent home in one of her Majesty's steam frigates, and landed safely at Monrovia, having enjoyed the best possible accommodations, and the most kind and courteous treatment, (all free of expense,) from the captain and officers of this ship of war. There are regular steamers that go once a

month from Plymouth to Monrovia, and there are other steamers on the way to the Cape of Good Hope that call at Monrovia once a month to leave merchandise and passengers: so that you may say there are two half-monthly or fortnightly steamers going regularly between this country and Liberia.

These frequent and rapid (only twenty-two or twenty-three days) conveyances are a wonderful increase of commerce and business relations, and if continued a few years longer, without any competition from the United States, there will be a complete monopoly of the trade and of influence over the people of Liberia. What our Government should do immediately is to recognise the independence of Liberia in the most gracious manner possible; to establish a line of monthly steamers between Norfolk and Monrovia; and for Virginia to make her annual subscription toward transporting emigrants to Liberia so available as that it would be efficient for the purpose it was intended for. These three measures would immediately restore the lost ground we have sustained on the coast of Africa, and would be of incalculable utility in promoting the colonization plan, and increasing our trade with Africa. Pray tell me what is the prospect of the new Administration of Gen. Pierce being favorable to colonization?

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Monrovia, January 24, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your interesting favor of the first of December last, and am greatly obliged to you for the information it con-

tains respecting the visit of Capt. Lynch, United States navy, to this coast, for the purpose of reconnoissance, &c., preparatory to a more minute inspection and survey of the country at some not very distant period. I agree with you that this movement on the part of the United States Government seems to indicate something good for Liberia. Depend upon it, sir, the time has now come when the United States, as a Government, must do something for Liberia, if it be expected that their citizens will avail themselves of the immense trade which is rapidly springing up in this part of Africa. There can be no question that the British fully understand and appreciate the importance of this great outlet for British manufactures; and be assured her Majesty's Government will spare no pains to increase British interests in this quarter. Indeed, they are now laying the foundation of a trade between Liberia and England that will in a few years, astonish the most sanguine.

Already the new line of African steamers is beginning to tell well; the first two steamers have brought considerable freight for this place and Grand Bassa; all landed here of course; and I understand pretty large orders will be forwarded by the present mail for British merchandise; and is it not very clear that when commercial intercourse and business relations shall have been once established between Liberian and English merchants, it will be exceedingly difficult to divert them into other channels?—On my arrival I found that public matters here had not undergone any material change; some pecuniary embarrassments existed, and the chiefs of the neighborhood of Little and Grand Cape Mount had invol-

ved themselves in a war, and had given the Government here some trouble. I hope, however, shortly that all these will be overcome. With respect to Capt. Lynch, I would remark that I am making arrangements to afford him every facility in carrying out the objects of his mission. I look for him almost daily. He came from Teneriffe to the Gambia in the last steamer "Forerunner," where he met the United States ship "John Adams," bound to this place via Sierra Leone, and joined her to make the remainder of the passage.

I see that General Pierce has been elected by an overwhelming majority. Will he carry out the views of the present Administration in regard to Liberia? Emigration is increasing rapidly, and the General Government must in some way come to the aid of the society. Three expeditions, with about 400 immigrants, have arrived here during the present month, and we are daily expecting two others; one from New Orleans and the other from Savannah. The resources of the society are too limited to meet the applications now being made for passages to Liberia; and I notice that the amount they hoped to get from McDonogh's estate is lost to them. But the cause of colonization is gaining favor in all parts of the Union, and I doubt not will, in some way, be sustained. I yesterday received an official communication from his Excellency Sylvain Van de Wyer, announcing the recognition of the independence of Liberia by the Belgian Government. Mrs. Roberts begs you will accept her thanks for the Illustrated London News you were good enough to send her, and sends you many kind regards.

Yours, truly, J. J. ROBERTS.

[From the National Era.]

Letter from Rev. George Thompson.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE,

*West Africa, February 15, 1853.**To the Editor of the National Era:*

DEAR SIR: Thinking perhaps you might be pleased to have a correspondent in the *Land of Ham*, I haste to drop a few lines, on my arrival again at my adopted home.

We left New York December 28th, and had a passage of thirty-five days to this place. The first part of the voyage was very rough and squally. We encountered a most terrific storm, which lasted nearly forty-eight hours. The captain and mates say they never saw anything like it. We arrived here February 1st, and found many warm friends who had been long expecting us. The new recruits, eight in number, enjoy African scenery very much. The temperature is pleasant, and especially the mornings and evenings. The oranges, pineapples, bananas, plantains, papaws, yams, sweet potatoes, cocoa, cassada, &c., they are delighted with.

Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, contained 18,000 at the last census. In the city are probably thirty or more chapels or places of worship. The principal denominations are Church Missionary and Wesleyan; then the West African Methodists are considerably numerous; some Baptists, &c. The English language is the spoken language, though it is said that there are one hundred and eighty different tribes here assembled. The mass of them are liberated slaves, taken from the slave ships, brought from numerous and distant portions of Africa, so that here is a favorable place to judge of the capacity of Africans in

general—intellectual, moral, and mechanical—and of the relative capacities of the different tribes; and I would unhesitatingly invite any one to the examination. In intellectual capacities, they will compare well with any nation. After they are landed from the slave ship, the majority learn to read, &c., so as to do business, and many have become teachers, missionaries, and ministers. The children learn very fast in everything, from a b c to the highest branches. I place them behind no children, of any country. In business faculties they are excellent. Multitudes who came here in the crowded slave ships, with not a stitch of clothing to their names, twenty years ago, are now very extensive merchants, doing a heavy business, owning many stores furnished with goods from London, besides a large amount of city property. In business, they will not fall short behind the keenest Yankee; and I think they are more religiously inclined than any other nation. In mechanical branches they are fair; and though there are so many varieties here, from so many different tribes and places, yet there cannot be found a place in the United States, of the same size and business, where there will be found less quarrelling. It is amazing to see how they get along. We expect great things for Africa, from Sierra Leone. The slave trade is *not* dead, though the English cruisers harass the traders very much, and take many vessels. As to our cruisers from the United States, I think they are a mere dead expense. They neither try nor care to put down the slave trade; and it would be far better for the cause, if every one of

them was called home, and kept there.

I cannot speak of Liberia as yet, as I have not been there. I expect to see it, and then I shall cheerfully report. I hope to be able to communicate things of interest from time to time. Yours, &c.,

GEORGE THOMPSON.

We think the opinion expressed by Mr. Thompson respecting the

United States cruisers was rather hastily formed. We have positive knowledge of the fact, from personal observation on the coast of Africa, that several of our cruisers have rendered very effectual service in the suppression of the slave trade, as well as in the protection of American commerce on that coast. ED. REPOS.

[From the Chronicle and Sentinel, Augusta, Ga.]

Colonization—Liberia.

WE take great pleasure in calling the reader's attention to the Communication of the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, the Agent of the Colonization Society, in this day's paper; and commending the subject to the deliberate reflection of every philanthropic heart.

EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA. The undersigned respectfully states, that he is appointed by the American Colonization Society to represent its views and advance its interest in various portions of the country; that having recently visited Liberia, under instructions from the Government of the United States, to which, on his return, he made a full report, he has, at the request of the Society, come to this State, (from which the Institution has for many years, indeed, ever since its origin, received evidences of confidence with generous donations,) for the double purpose of ascertaining what free people of color are prepared to embark for Liberia, in a vessel to be sent to that country, from Savannah, in June next, and of receiving

such contributions to the treasury of the Society, as the friends of its great Christian Enterprise may be disposed to give. And since, during the time he can remain, the undersigned can visit but a few of the principal cities and towns, he will be ready to communicate by letter with those who may desire information concerning the Society or Liberia; and he is most happy to announce that Messrs. Robert Campell, Henry H. Cumming, Charles J. Jenkins, James W. Davies, and Wm. A. Walton, Esqs., of Augusta—gentlemen well known throughout the State—have kindly consented to receive denations for the cause, and reply to such inquiries as may be addressed to them in regard to the plans and operations of the Society.

For a month to come letters may be addressed to the undersigned at Augusta, care of Robert Campell, Esq. R. R. GURLEY.

Editors friendly to the above please copy.

Letter from Liberia.

The following letter, addressed to the Williamsburgh *Times*, is written by an intelligent colored man who emigrated from Williamsburgh, N.

York, to Liberia a few months ago. It will be seen that he is delighted with the change in his condition and prospects:

MONROVIA,
Jan. 23, 1853.

I promised to let you hear from me when in Liberia, Africa, but although I have been here two months, I cannot at this time give you much account of the place. This little republic is so far ahead of what I expected to find it, that your good people of the States would scarcely think I were narrating truth were I to describe all that I have seen. Liberia is a fine fertile country. Things of every kind grow here. The people are more comfortable, in every respect, and enjoy themselves much better than I have ever known them to do elsewhere. The houses are very large, and are built mostly of brick and stone; they are two stories and two stories and a half high, from 30 to 50 feet front, and from 25 to 40 feet deep. The steps to these houses are composed of iron ore—a substance on which the city is built. Iron ore is as plentiful in Monrovia as common stone is in Williamsburgh.

Most of those who farm are located on the banks of the St. Paul river, about five miles from the city, and some are doing well. Allen Hooper, of New York, has been here a little over two years. He had but small means to commence with, but now has one of the best coffee plantations on the river. He has seven thousand trees growing—two thousand of which are loaded with coffee—and he is of opinion that next year all will bear. Next I will mention A. Blacklege, who is making about twelve thousand pounds of sugar a year, and some hundreds of gallons of molasses and syrup—all of which will favorably compare

with the best imported articles of the kind.

Sweet potatoes, Lima beans, Indian corn, cassada, plantains, and other table vegetables are raised up this river, which is 25 or 30 miles long. A fine town is situated at the source of this stream; it is called Millsburg, and contains a population of 800 or 1,000 persons—the most of whom employ themselves in making brick and hewing timber of all kinds for market.

I have not ability to describe the advantages to be reaped in this country, nor have I the time. My business is so much better than it ever was before, that I am constantly occupied in attending to it.

One word as to the fever. My children have all had it; so have all the emigrants who came out with us, except my wife, myself, and two others. None of them kept their beds for more than two or three days. The fever is not as bad as it is generally represented to be. I have seen persons who have lived here for from two to twenty years, and who never had it all.

This is a great country for men and women who love liberty and who love themselves, for money can be made here.

Please to give my thanks to the gentlemen in your city whose philanthropy was the cause of my success. I trust that you will publish this letter for the information of those who may wish to know something of this country. My next letter shall be longer, and will contain much more information respecting this colony of Liberia—a day-star of hope for the colored race.

JOHN D. JOHNSON.

Letter from J. B. Jordan.

MONROVIA, Jan. 10th, 1853.

REV. J. B. PINNEY:

DEAR SIR:—I write you in great

haste, as the English steam packet from the leeward is now hourly expected. Your several letters to

myself and to the firm are at hand, and shall receive my early attention. Previous to the Shirley's arrival, I bought a large quantity of oil, and having an opportunity of shipping it by a transient vessel to London, the firm made use of the opportunity. Twenty-five casks containing three thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine gallons, were shipped from account to Messrs. W. & G. M., of Liverpool. The firm, as Mr. Boorman will tell you, is one of the best in England.

As the vessel from New-Orleans is nearly due. I hope to load her if she be not bound for Rio Janeiro; and, in the event of my succeeding, I shall send her to New-York. I have engaged about twenty tons of camwood, and five or six of oil, and think the quantity may be increased to sixty tons at least. I had an offer of \$1000 freight to New-York for Captain Brandt, which the forfeiture of his charter forbid his taking. We had a pleasant passage out in the "Oriole" in forty-nine days. She delivered every thing in nine days. The captain is pleased with the trade. He is a skilful and vigilant sailor, and a good and honest man, and if you can ever employ

him with advantage to yourselves, pray give him a preference.

I have not had the fever, nor do I feel it, though from my color I think I have undergone a change. I am far stouter than when in New-York, and ever since my arrival have worked like a Trojan. We have realized about \$5000 for the goods we brought. We have sold no tobacco, but little powder, and but few guns or bafts. The provisions sold very well, and if the vessel from New-York be not too large, a good assortment of provisions will sell very well. I shall expedite sales of every thing as fast as I can, and remit as often as possible. Remember me kindly to Mr. Schieffelin, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Disoway.

I am much pleased, and in tip-top health. My wife has had the fever, and is nearly well. My child is the picture of health. My wife is much pleased, and will camp here. Pray remember me to Mr. Dodge, Messrs. Phelps and their associates. The "Oriole" emigrants are faring well; none have died, and most all have had the fever and are about. Jacob M. Richardson is fitted for this country, and is doing well. Good-bye. J. B. JORDAN.

[From Frederick Douglass' Paper.]

Learn Trades or Starve?

These are the obvious alternatives sternly presented to the free colored people of the United States. It is idle, yea even ruinous, to disguise the matter for a single hour longer; every day begins and ends with the impressive lesson that free negroes must learn trades, or die.

The old avocations, by which colored men obtained a livelihood, are rapidly, unceasingly and inevitably passing into other hands; every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment by some newly

arrived emigrant, whose hunger and whose color are thought to give him a better title to the place; and so we believe it will continue to be until the last prop is levelled beneath us.

As a black man, we say if we cannot stand up, let us fall down. We desire to be a man among men while we do live; and when we cannot, we wish to die. It is evident, painfully evident to every reflecting mind, that the means of living, for colored men, are becoming more and more precarious and

limited. Employments and callings formerly monopolized by us, are so no longer.

White men are becoming house-servants, cooks and stewards on vessels—at hotels.—They are becoming porters, stevedores, wood-sawyers, hod-carriers, brick-makers, white-washers and barbers, so that the blacks can scarcely find the means of subsistence—a few years ago, and a *white* barber would have been a curiosity—now their poles stand on every street. Formerly blacks were almost the exclusive coachmen in wealthy families: this is so no longer; white men are now employed, and for aught we see, they fill their servile station with an obsequiousness as profound as that of the blacks. The readiness and ease with which they adapt themselves to these conditions ought not to be lost sight of by the colored people. The meaning is very important, and we should learn it. We are taught our insecurity by it. Without the means of living, life is a curse, and leaves us at the mercy of the oppressor to become his debased slaves. Now, colored men, what do you mean to do, for you must do something? The American Colonization Society tells you to go to Liberia. Mr. Bibb tells you to go to Canada. Others tell you to go to school. We tell you to go to work; and to work you must go or die. Men are not valued in this country, or in any country, for what they *are*; they are valued for what they can *do*. It is in vain that we talk about being men, if we do not the work of men. We must become valuable to society in other departments of industry than those servile ones from which we are rapidly being excluded. We must show that we can *do* as well as *be*; and to this end we must learn trades. When we can build as well

as live in houses; when we can *make* as well as *wear* shoes; when we can produce as well as consume wheat, corn and rye—then we shall become valuable to society. Society is a hard-hearted affair.—With it the helpless may expect no higher dignity than that of paupers. The individual must lay society under obligation to him, or society will honor him only as a stranger and sojourner. *How* shall this be done? In this manner: use every means, strain every nerve to master some important mechanical art. At present, the facilities for doing this are few—institutions of learning are more readily opened to you than the work-shop; but the Lord helps them who will help themselves, and we have no doubt that new facilities will be presented as we press forward.

If the alternative were presented to us of learning a trade or of getting an education, we would learn the trade, for the reason, that with the trade we could get the education while with the education we could not get the trade. What we, as a people, need most, is the means for our own elevation.—An educated colored man, in the United States, unless he has within him the heart of a hero, and is willing to engage in a life-long battle for his rights, as a man, finds few inducements to remain in this country. He is isolated in the land of his birth—debarred by his color from congenial association with whites; he is equally cast out by the ignorance of the *blacks*. The remedy for this must comprehend the elevation of the masses; and this can only be done by putting the mechanic arts within the reach of colored men.

We have now stated pretty strongly the case of our colored countrymen; perhaps some will say, *too* strongly, but we know whereof we affirm.

In view of this state of things, we appeal to the abolitionists. What boss anti-slavery mechanic will take a black boy into his wheelwright's shop, his blacksmith's shop, his joiner's shop, his cabinet shop? Here is something *practical*; where are the whites and where are the blacks that will respond to it? Where are the anti-slavery milliners and seamstresses that will take the colored girls and teach them trades, by which they can obtain an honorable living? The fact that we have made good cooks, good waiters, good barbers, and white-washers, induces

the belief that we may excel in higher branches of industry. *One thing is certain; we must find new methods of obtaining a livelihood, for the old ones are failing us very fast.*

We, therefore, call upon the intelligent and thinking ones amongst us, to urge upon the colored people within their reach, in all seriousness, the duty and the necessity of giving their children useful and lucrative trades, by which they may commence the battle of life with weapons, commensurate with the exigencies of the conflict.

Agency in Indiana.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

April 12, 1853.

To the County Clerks in Indiana.

GENTLEMEN:—We have taken the liberty of having forwarded to you, at our own expense, the African Repository, a monthly journal published by the American Colonization Society, as its official organ. You will find much valuable information in it, in regard to African matters; may we not express the hope that you will take the trouble to read it, and scatter the information found therein to the extent of your ability; and thus secure for our enterprise a permanent popular support.

J. MITCHELL,

Sec'y of the State Board of Col.

Collections by Rev. J. Mitchell, in Indiana, in 1852.

Hon. J. Read, \$1; Collected in Morristown, \$1.15; Bushnell & Co., \$1; J. Day, \$2; Mr. S. Merrell, \$5; In Hopewell Church, \$9.70; Franklin Baptist Church, \$4; Sundries in Franklin, \$6.85; Terre Haute, H. Ross, \$2; D. D. C. Coredell, \$1; Judge Kinney, \$2; James Hite, \$2; Charles Woods, \$2; Dr. Clippinger, \$1; James Cook, \$2; William Williams, \$1; E. S. Wolf, \$1; James Rope, \$2; J. W. Stewart, \$1; Miss. Bishop, \$1. \$48.70.

Sailing of the Ship Banshee.

THE Ship *Banshee*, chartered by the Chesapeake and Liberia Trading Company, sailed from Baltimore on the 25th ultimo, (April,) having on board 117 emigrants for Liberia, 52 of whom were from Maryland, sent out by the Maryland State Colonization Society—the remaining 65

were from different parts of the country, sent out by the American Colonization Society. At Norfolk, more emigrants were received on board—the exact number we cannot state at present. In our next, we will give a complete list of the emigrants sent out by this Society.

Address of the Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE AM. COL. SOCIETY, JANUARY 18, 1853.

WASHINGTON,

April 2, 1853.

DEAR SIR:—I owe you an apology for so long withholding a transcript from the notes which you so obligingly sent me from

the reporter of my speech at the annual meeting of the 18th of January.

Speaking as rapidly as I usually do, I am not at a loss to account for some of the errors of these notes. I had therefore

to revise the whole address, from which you will find some passages omitted, and many inserted, that give to it a somewhat new dress. I have also availed myself of the time I have been compelled by serious indisposition to consume, to add by notes proofs of the facts referred to in the narrative and argument of the address, some of which may not be uninteresting or useless.

Yours truly and respectfully,

C. F. MERCER.

Rev. W. McLAIN,

Secretary A. C. S.

After the speeches of the Honorable Mr. Everett, Secretary of State, and the Rev. Mr. Read, Gen'l Mercer, the senior Vice President in attendance, called Mr. Whittlesley to the chair, and addressed the meeting in substance, as follows:

*Gentlemen of the Colonization Society,
and my most respected auditors:*

You will, I am confident, do me the justice to believe that had I not been told, at the moment of entering your presence, that, by an arrangement, made by our Directors, another gentleman much better qualified, had consented to take the place in our proceedings, that had been previously assigned to me, I would not have taken the chair, from which you, Sir, have just kindly relieved me, without an expression of our common grief at the sad event, which has robbed us of the eminent statesman who presided over our last annual meeting.

Allow me then, to congratulate you, my fellow citizens, on the earlier opportunity, which has been thus afforded you of listening to the very eloquent address with which we have just been favored.

And yet, I should not feel that I had discharged my duty, as your presiding officer, if I had silently passed by the irreparable bereavement, with which it has pleased an inscrutable Providence to visit our Society during the past year; and not our Society alone, but our common country. Like her we have a double calamity to deplore. Our beloved President, one of the earliest friends, for more than thirty-six years a zealous, consistent, and most able champion of African Colonization, has

been taken from us, by death. Seldom in the history of the world, has any nation had occasion, in the brief compass of a few months, to mourn over so heavy a calamity, greatly aggravated as it is in this instance, by the recollection, that, though rivals in fame, these illustrious men, whose loss we mourn, were, for more than the fourth of a century, united in council for our common welfare. While we gratefully though sadly dwell upon their past services, it is a somewhat soothing consolation, to be able to trace the many striking resemblances in their lives; their pursuits, and the fortune which distinguished them—that in their youth they had to contend with like obstacles to their progress; that they early embraced the same profession, and rose in it to eminence, by the same means, their surpassing eloquence; that, by a rare coincidence, both were distinguished alike, at the bar, and in the Senate; that both reached the second office in the government of their country, and were regarded, by a large portion of their countrymen, entitled to the first. Both rose to distinction, as I have said, by their powerful eloquence, but, at the same time, it may be truly said, that no two very great orators have lived, within our knowledge, who less resembled each other, in their figure, their countenances, their personal address, their voices, their gestures, or their style and manner of discourse. The striking peculiarities of each, I must here leave it to others to portray; but I cannot omit noticing their common felicity in being beloved by very numerous and ardent friends, who delighted to manifest the sincerity of their devotion, in a manner alike honorable to both. Both too, attained an advanced age; both lived to realize and to acknowledge the vanity of all earthly applause; and to find that, the most fortunate path of life, “leads but to the grave.” Their descent to this last resting place of all men was, happily for them, and for the example which they have left us, so gradual, and so gentle, as to allow them, with faculties unimpaired by disease, to testify their high sense of the value of religion; and both expired in the assured hope of a blessed immortality, founded, not on a vain confidence in their own merits, but on the merits and atonement of a crucified Redeemer. If useful therefore, and glorious in life, they were not less so in death, furnishing to infidelity a lesson for profitable study, and to the humble christian, a confirmation of his faith.

In one respect, our lamented friends long occupied different relations to the American Colonization Society: the one joined us in the days of our prosperity; and, although, on a recent and memorable occasion, he bore a testimony to our cause*, which atoned for his past indifference, we cannot forget that, in the other, we ever found, through evil, as well as good report, an untiring and efficient advocate. When forsaken by some of our early and most distinguished friends, he remained faithful; and, with that moral courage which ever distinguished him, battled for our cause, with a zeal, which no desire of popular applause, no fear of public censure, could divert, or appal.

The time was, Mr. Chairman, as a venerable friend near me can testify, (the Rev. Doctor Laurie,) when, driven from the Capitol, we held our annual meetings in his distant church, and that these meetings were not graced, as now, by a crowded and brilliant audience. I well remember, that I had to read our second annual report, which, with its appendix, it had cost me no little labor to prepare, to an annual meeting of but seven persons: one of whom, now President of the College of New Jersey, was not a member of our Society, but attracted from Georgetown, where he then lived, by curiosity alone: and one of the most distinguished founders of this Society, John Randolph of Roanoke, who was present, never afterwards attended one of our annual meetings; nor did William H. Crawford of Georgia. The third annual report, which along with the second and the appendix

of each made a volume of 300 pages, was, in like manner, composed, and read to an annual meeting of less than twenty persons, so little interest did the members of the Society or the public take in African Colonization.

Opposition from the north, more clamorous even than that from the south, assailed us at the same moment, upon diametrically opposite grounds, alike untenable, indeed, because false, but equally prejudicial to an enterprise, which then in its infancy, depended for its success exclusively on popular favor, and private contributions.

I have, Mr. Chairman, though lately, seen a public document of 1086 pages, commencing with a report from a committee of the House of Representatives of a former Congress, in which the foundation of our African Colony, now the recognized Republic of Liberia, is ascribed to the American Colonization Society, and the existence of that Society to Doctor Finley, a pious clergyman of New Jersey, long since deceased. I have also more recently read a public address delivered to the north of that State, in which it is said Liberia is of Northern origin.

Knowing these views to be erroneous, and believing them to be prejudicial to the utility of the Society, where its influence may, and should be most profitably directed, I propose in the sequel of what I shall say to bring them to your notice and disprove their truth.

Having, Sir, reached this city but one hour before your assemblage here, and in

*Mr. Webster on March 7, 1850, in debate on the Compromise said.

"In my observations upon slavery as it has existed in this country and now exists, I have expressed no opinion on the mode of its extinguishment, or amelioration. I will say, however, though I have nothing to propose on that subject because I do not deem myself so competent as other gentlemen to consider it, that if any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme of colonization, to be carried on by the Government upon a large scale, for the transportation of free colored people to any colony or place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object. Nay, Sir, following an example set here more than twenty years ago by a great man, then a Senator from New York, I would return to Virginia, through her, for the benefit of the whole South, all the money received from the lands and territories ceded by her to this Government, for any such purpose as to relieve, in whole or in part, or in any way to diminish or deal beneficially with the free colored population of the Southern States. I have said that I would honor Virginia for her cession of this territory. There have been received into the Treasury of the United States 80 millions of dollars, the proceeds of the sales of the lands ceded by Virginia. If this residue should be sold at the same rate, the whole aggregate will exceed 200 millions of dollars. If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of color among them, they have my free consent that the Government shall pay them any sum of money out of its proceeds which may be adequate to the purpose."

infirm health, with feelings not at all improved by exposure to the cold night air of the adjacent river, I would not have appeared before you this evening, had not a public notice been given, though without my authority, that I was to address you, or had I been informed before I came here that my place had been so much better supplied by the Directors of the Society.

Being here, however, I shall endeavor, however imperfectly, to avail myself of an opportunity which considering my advanced age, may never again occur to me in like circumstances, of inquiring into the rise and progress of the Republic of Liberia, and to show that both are ascribable to Southern men and southern influence.

The document to which I have referred traces the origin of our African Colony, as I have said, to Doctor Finley, substantially, in the following terms:

"Resolutions were more than once adopted by the Legislature of Virginia, expressive of the interest which the State felt in the Colonization of her free colored population and, at length, the Governor was directed, in 1816, when Dr. Finley was employed at Washington, in his memorable enterprise of establishing the American Colonization Society, to correspond with the President for the promotion of that design; the assistance of the Senators and Representatives of the States, was invoked to the same end. The Society was founded, in December, 1816. It comprised many eminent individuals from the several States. Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, were the first to respond to the invitation invoking their assistance, and they passed resolutions recommending the subject to the country; and,

generally announced their accordance in the opinion expressed by Mr. Jefferson, that it was desirable the United States would undertake the colonization of the free people of color, on the coast of Africa."

So much for this Document. The speech I have alluded to, simply averred, in order, doubtless, to conciliate a popular meeting, to the North, that the Colony of Liberia was of Northern origin. To one totally unacquainted with the proceedings of the Legislature of Virginia, on the subject of colonizing a part of her colored population, the language which I have quoted would make it appear that Mr. Jefferson's letter of 1811, to John Lynd, was publicly known to the General Assembly of Virginia, when that body passed the resolution of December, 1816; although in truth the letter was never published nor known until a year after that resolution had been passed,—that the resolution itself was suggested by a knowledge of certain proceedings of Doctor Finley at Washington, in December, 1816; when in fact the resolution had long been contemplated and preceded any knowledge, whatever, of Doctor Finley or his occupation in Washington, at the time of its adoption; that the State of Virginia responded to an invitation from Washington inviting her aid, in forming an American Colonization Society, when in fact the Society did not exist until after the State passed her resolution, by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of the General Assembly, and when, in truth, the co-operation of the Southern members of the American Colonization Society, in forming that Society, was ascribed by every contemporary publication, to the fact, that Virginia had already passed her resolution.*

That Resolution passed the House of

*Extract from a pamphlet published at Washington, the 4th of February, 1819; entitled, "A view of the exertions lately made for the purpose of Colonizing the free people of color on the Coast of Africa."

"It is already known that the attention of many intelligent men in the United States had been recently turned with peculiar force and a corresponding zeal and spirit of perseverance to this subject. Some very important preparatory steps to such a measure have been taken.

Soon after the commencement of the present session of Congress, the expedience of colonizing free people of color, became a subject of consideration with many gentlemen of respectability from the different states.

The formation of a colonization society was therefore proposed. Many were led the more readily to approve of an institution of this kind, from a knowledge that this subject occupies the attention of many worthy citizens, in different states; but particularly from the consideration which had been bestowed upon it, by the Legislature of a highly respectable sister state (Virginia.) As the following preamble and resolution were approved by the House of Delegates of that state previous to the first meeting

Delegates on the 14th of December, nine days before the Society had agreed to any organization whatever, and the Senate one week before that organization was effected. But the testimony of Mr. Clay, notwithstanding the note affixed to it without his authority undoubtedly transfers to another gentleman, Elias B. Caldwell the suggestion of forming any society whatever; while that of Mr. Harrison of Lynchburg incontestably proves that as early as March, 1816, the knowledge had transpired of the passage of the Virginia resolutions of 1801, 1804-'5, facts carefully concealed by the legislature which passed those resolutions, until the last of February, 1816. It was as generally known

throughout Virginia and elsewhere, that a renewal of those resolutions, which had been passed in secret session, would be publicly attempted, at the ensuing session of the General Assembly.

Among the speeches at the 11th annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, held in the Capitol of the United States, on July 19th, 1823, was one delivered by J. B. Harrison, Esq. the representative of the Auxiliary Society of Lynchburg, Virginia, of which the following are literally extracted.

"Virginia and the South had a right to demand of us explicit avowals on several heads; and I am happy to believe that the votes often passed by the Society,

for the formation of the American Colonization Society, it will be proper to introduce them in this place.

Extract.—[Whereupon the following preamble and resolution being offered by Mr. Mercer of Loudoun, and amended, were agreed to by the House, yeas 137, noes 9.]

Whereas the General Assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an Asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of color as had been, or might be emancipated under the laws of this Commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success.

They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred, with the Government of the United States, in abolishing the African Slave Trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth, both before and since the revolution, zealously sought to terminate,) to renew this effort, and do therefore *Resolve*, that the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the shore of the North Pacific, or at some other place not within any of the State or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color, as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this Commonwealth; and that the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above object; *Provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.]

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of an extract from the journal of the House of Delegates of Saturday, December 14th, 1816.

Given under my hand this 3d day of February, 1832.

S. G. TUCKER, C. H. D.
and Keeper of the Rolls of Virginia.

This pamphlet professes to give the entire proceedings of the meeting, which followed on the 23d of December, taken chiefly from the National Intelligencer of the 24th. They consist of the speech of Mr. Clay, a much longer one of Elias B. Caldwell, followed by a few remarks from John Randolph of Roanoke, and Robert Wright of Maryland. The name of Mr. Finley nowhere appears in its proceedings, which are subscribed by H. Clay, as chairman, who was then Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Thomas Dougherty, clerk of the House, who acted as secretary of the meeting. At a subsequent meeting, held four days after, the constitution of the society was formed; and the Reverend Robert Finley was requested to close the meeting with prayer. On the 1st of January, 1817, the Society was organized by the election of its officers. But of these proceedings, being in the City of Richmond, at the time of their occurrence, I was not informed, till long after they had occurred, and the name of Mr. Finley wholly escaped my notice, though it appears at the end of the list of the Vice Presidents, then chosen.

with reference to misrepresentations of its views, are the candid sentiments of every individual of the Society." Perhaps, however, the most urgent appeal to Virginia, is to be made by showing her, that the Society was instituted in furtherance of a feeling excited by her legislature, and that the plan of this association is exactly that originated by herself, in its object, in its scope, its adjuncts, in its inevitable tendencies, and in its liability to possible collateral dangers. Nor was this plan rashly originated by herself: the project had been shown through the State from March till December, and was finally adopted with hardly a dissenting voice, in the "General Assembly." "At all events, I think it is not premature for us to premise that, before many years, if the authorship of the plan imply responsibility, Virginia will be ready to bear it: if it impart honor, Virginia will claim it."

"It is no sickly sympathy that has brought us here, or overheated enthusiasm which holds us together. Of all the achievements of this age, this will be the greatest, for it will arise out of calm conviction, a feeling of patriotism, not yet pressed with fear of immediate danger, and a forecast that looks far ahead. Its object the whole world will regard as of a magnitude scarcely ever exceeded." "This day the report puts to flight every remaining doubt of the practicability of the plan."—16th and 18th pages of the proceedings of the 11th annual meeting.

And here I will commence my narrative of the mode in which the knowledge of the existence of those resolutions was divulged, and of the consequences then resulting.

Being in the city of Richmond, in attendance on the House of Delegates, of which I had been for six years a member, and quietly seated, late in February, 1816, with a venerable friend, in an apartment which we had long shared in common, a gentleman in a state of great excitement visited us and abruptly exclaimed, that "Mr. Jefferson was a consummate hypocrite." My aged friend who was personally as well as politically attached to Mr. Jefferson, promptly resented this accusation, in very indignant terms, and being less intimate with him, than with my visitor, in order to draw his fire from my friend, I challenged him to adduce some proof of his charge, expressing at the same time an utter disbelief of its truth. His reply to me was, that "Mr. Jefferson had zealously recommended in his notes on Virginia, a plan for colonizing her colored popula-

tion; but when repeatedly applied to by the legislature of the state, to carry it into effect, he had coldly evaded their application." Never having heard of any such proposal, by the body of which I had been so long a member, I questioned the fact, and was referred, for its proof, to the clerk of the senate, of which body my visitor had long been a member, and told "to inquire for the secret journals of the years 1800, '1, '4, and '5."

When I met this gentleman, the ensuing day, I reminded him of his late conversation, supposing as I really did, that his memory usually very faithful, had for once forsaken him. He assured me that he had correctly quoted the secret journals of transactions which had occurred while he was a member of the Senate, although he regretted that he had thoughtlessly done so since the resolutions had been passed with closed doors and the injunction of secrecy had never been removed.

Thus assured, I called on the clerk, who as incautiously shewed me those journals, containing not only the resolutions in question, but the correspondence to which they gave rise at different periods between Governor Monroe, and Page, with Mr. Jefferson, when President of the U. S.

I imputed the failure of those resolutions as I now do, to the secrecy with which all knowledge of them had been concealed from the public. Being under no restriction, myself, I communicated their existence and the contents of the correspondence to which they gave rise to all my acquaintances of both houses of the General Assembly, very few of whom had ever heard of them, and I pledged myself if re-elected to the House of Delegates to renew them; it being then too late to do so as the session of the Legislature which finally adjourned on the 29th of February, 1816, was to expire in a few days. How widely the discovery thus made, was immediately spread through the State, is manifest from the speech delivered by a Virginia delegate at the 11th annual meeting of this Society, whose residence was in a central city of the State, and remote from its Capitol.

Shortly after the adjournment of the Legislature, I came to Washington, and in the gallery of the House of Representatives, which then sat in the brick building which supplied for some time the place of the splendid Hall destroyed by the British in 1814, I accidentally met two intimate acquaintances, Elias B. Caldwell, clerk of the Supreme Court of the U. S.

a native of New Jersey, and Francis S. Key, a resident of Georgetown but a native of Maryland. Upon my communicating to them the resolutions of Virginia, and my determination to renew them, at the ensuing session of the legislature, should I be re-elected a member of that body, they both expressed their deepest interest in my purpose, and assured me of their zealous co-operation, in effecting it. Mr. Key promptly declared that if I persevered in it he would return to Maryland and obtaining if possible a seat in her legislature offer a similar resolution, of the success of which he would have no doubt.

Mr. Caldwell, my former schoolfellow at Princeton college, manifested no less zeal, and remarked that although his duty to his family, who were dependent on his office, would restrain him from leaving Washington, his numerous friends and acquaintances in his native state and especially among the clergy of his own religious denomination, would enable him to promote our common views, as he would gladly do.

How faithfully both those gentlemen redeemed their pledges the history of the colonization society and of the colony of Liberia abundantly testifies.*

* Elias Boudinot Caldwell, a native of New Jersey, and for a twelvemonth my schoolmate, graduated at the commencement of the College at Princeton, in 1796, in the same class with William Gaston, of North Carolina, Philip C. Pendleton, of Virginia, Robert G. Forsyth, and John McPherson Berrien, of Georgia. His mother was killed during the revolutionary war by a ball from a British musket while she held him an infant in her arms. He was, along with the youngest son of General Hugh Mercer, who fell at Princeton, adopted and educated by the United States.**

Francis S. Key, a native of Maryland, but an inhabitant of Georgetown, at the period here mentioned, afterwards removed to Washington, where he rose to the head of his profession and died in the office of attorney of the United States for the District of Columbia.

He was a poet as well as a most eloquent advocate, and among the best hymns of the Episcopal Church are many of his composition. Of that church he lived and died a pious and most exemplary member, universally beloved and regretted. To his country he bequeathed an imperishable legacy, in the best national song she now has. John Randolph in one of his letters desired me to remember him to the best and to the wisest man in America, intending to denote by the one, Francis S. Key, then living in Georgetown, and Rufus King, a senator from New York, who with myself and others made his abode there during many sessions of Congress.

**Extract from a speech of Mr. Clay at the 10th Annual Meeting of the Society held in the Hall of the House of Representatives on the 20th of January, 1827.

"In allusion to the death of Mr. Caldwell, it is, now, said Mr. Clay, a little upwards of ten years, since a religious, amiable, and benevolent resident of this city, first conceived the idea of planting a Colony, from the United States, of free people of color on the Western shores of Africa. He is no more; and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him, would be to inscribe upon his tomb, the merited epitaph: "Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society." Among those to whom he communicated the project was the person who has now the honor of addressing you. My first impressions like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own reflections; and I fully agreed with him that the experiment was worth a fair trial. A meeting of its friends was called, organized as a deliberate body and a constitution was formed. The Society went into operation. He lived to see the most encouraging progress in its exertions and died in full confidence of its complete success."

More than twelve months after the formation of the American Colonization Society, I first heard of Doctor Finley, whom I never knew personally, and that to him was imputed the origin of the Colony in Africa, then, and for some time afterwards, without a name.

The recollection of Mr. Clay disclosed in his touching allusion to the death of Mr. Caldwell, corresponds with the facts, I have stated, on my own recollection. Unwilling as I am, to take from the venerable clergyman, whose name I have mentioned, any credit whatever, that may be due to his memory; though it were to enhance that of my native State, to whom, I have, on all occasions, and at all times, hitherto, ascribed the origin of the first public resolution adopted by any legislative body, what-

The Legislature of Virginia which usually meets on the first Monday in December, re-assembled in 1816, on 17th November.

Although no time was lost in preparing the resolution, which with some slight modification was subsequently adopted, there were two influential members of the House of Delegates, of whose support there was some doubt. At the express desire of one of them, the resolution was kept back until the 12th of December, while its author was diligently employed in making interest for its success.

For greater despatch, it was preceded by a motion to close the doors of the House of Delegates, so that it was submitted for consideration in secret session, and adopted after the debate of a day, by a majority of 132 votes out of 146. On the 14th of December, the injunction of secrecy was removed, and the resolution sent up to the Senate. It passed that body,

after a delay occasioned by other business, on the 23d of December, with but one dissenting voice. Such is a detailed, and I fear to my audience a very tedious history of the Virginia resolution. It passed without any knowledge of a movement in Washington to form an American Colonization Society, or of the existence of Dr. Finley.

During its consideration in the House of Delegates, I received a letter from Mr. Key, which did I now possess it would save a part of my present narrative. I lent the letter to Captain Richard F. Stockton, one of the present senators from the State of New Jersey, many years ago, on learning from him in this city, that he intended to write a history of our *Colony*; and with it I gave him for his use, a small collection of works on Africa, which with the journal of the lamented Mills, furnished the basis of the appendix to the 2d and 3d Annual Reports.

ever, relative to African Colonization, I cannot resist the evidence which I have here furnished of the true origin of the colony of Liberia.

But my narrative would be very imperfect, if it stopped here. Another and a much more efficient agency must be acknowledged, to have afforded its necessary aid, to originate and sustain our African Colony. Before I trace its action, allow me to say, that I think it more than doubtful, if the creation of the *Colonization Society*, whether through the agency of the pious Caldwell, or of Doctor Finley, has at all advanced in any respect whatever, the cause of African Colonization. It certainly startled the legislature of Virginia who had not foreseen it, and it aroused the opposition not only of some of her leading statesmen, but of those of nearly all the States south of Virginia, to see a subject of such vital interest to them all, thrown open to the public discussions and acts of a society spread through the United States, and to the interference of other counsellors and agents than their own Governments. Some ill judged speeches, at more than one annual meeting of the Society, and some public essays, early arrayed all those legislatures including that of Georgia, against our enterprise. It is therefore by no means certain, that many Colonies would not have been earlier planted, and more securely fortified against external danger, if the several States had been left, and either separately or in conjunction with the United States, to act upon the subject. Maryland has separately acted since 1825, and with success. One truth, I proceed next to establish, that the Colonization Society founded, as it was obviously, on the Virginia resolution of December, 1816, must have utterly failed in its purpose, but for the direct as well as incidental aids afforded it by the United States Government.

As soon as the Colonization Society was organized, which was not until 1st of January, 1817, by the election of its officers, and I was released from other duties, I proceeded through the several counties of the Congressional district which I then represented to form societies auxiliary to that of Washington. These were in like manner multiplied in two of the adjacent districts, although in one of them not without encountering marked hostility. So effectual was this in the town of Frederickburg, that a most respectable Society organized on the morning of one day was dissolved by common consent the very next.

The exploring expedition of Messrs. Mills and Burgess having been started on borrowed funds, in order to replace them I went to Baltimore in the summer of 1818, where aided by Mr. Robert Purviance of that city, who introduced me to its citizens generally, I obtained by personal application along the principal streets a subscription of 4700 dollars. The Rev. Mr. (now Bishop) Meade, of Virginia, at the same time procured a subscription somewhat larger, chiefly from his own wealthy relatives and neighbors in the County of Frederick. These two sums very far exceeded in amount all that was subscribed elsewhere prior to the return of Mr. Burgess from Africa with the journal of his deceased associate, Mr. Mills.

I twice wrote to Captain Stockton for the letter of Mr. Key, but understood from him, that he could not find it.

But after discharging the expenses attendant on the voyages of Messrs. Mills and Burgess, by way of England, to Africa, and of the return of Mr. Burgess by the same circuitous route, of what avail could the small unexpended residue, less than 3,000 dollars, of those subscriptions, but partially collected, in planting a colony of sufficient strength for their own protection on the desert and savage coast of Africa; although still frequented by the accursed slave trade.

The report of Mr. Mills represented the island of Sherbro near Sierra Leone, as a suitable site for the contemplated colony; but three years had elapsed, and the actual receipts of the treasury of the Society manifested its total inability to set on foot such an enterprise. No return of those receipts and of the expenditures of the Society was made to any annual meeting, prior to the 4th; when from the Treasurer's accounts it appeared, that very little more than 9,000 dollars had been received by him; and that in a period of 14 months, following the 21st of January, 1821; he had received of new subscriptions less than 750 dollars.

The Virginia resolution of 1816 had never been communicated to the General Government, officially, nor to the Representatives of the State of Virginia in Congress.

President Madison went out of office on the 3d of March, 1817. but never it is believed received that resolution. Mr. Monroe who succeeded him the ensuing day, certainly never did. What became of it, I have yet to learn. To its fate the following facts may afford some key.

A very eminent and influential member of the House of Delegates had evidently yielded but a reluctant assent to the Virginia resolution. He represented Africa as a sand barren, its natives as ferocious savages, and the cost of a passage from Virginia to Africa, as not less than 200 dollars for each emigrant who might be sent there. He avowed his preference of the North West Coast of the U. S. for the site of the proposed colony, and to avoid his objections to Africa, and to obtain his vote, the words "or elsewhere" were inserted in the Virginia resolution causing it to read "*Africa or elsewhere*," though with no design whatever on the part of its friends to surrender their preference of that continent for the site of their colony, since other considerations closely allied

to the expressed object of the resolution, conspired to recommend Africa to their favorable regard. The distinguished gentleman who preferred a different location, but voted for the resolution, was in 1828 a representative of Virginia in the Senate of the United States, and became as a member of the committee on foreign relations of that body, the author of a printed report of twelve closely printed pages, on various memorials, and sundry resolutions of various States, recommending to Congress the American Colonization Society, as a proper object of the national bounty and protection. This very elaborate report, wound up with the following paragraph: "Much better would it be, for the *peace and good order of society*, if the government instead of lending its aid, and extending *1st* protection to such an institution," (referring to the American Colonization Society), "should take the whole subject, at once in its own hands, and regulate it in the customary mode, by agents directly responsible to the people and to the States. This, however, the committee believe the United States *cannot and ought not to do*; and as they cannot assist, they ought *not to countenance* the plans of such an institution; but should leave it to be dealt with by the several State sovereignties, as to their wisdom may seem best."

Without approving of the views of this report, which arrives at conclusions so much at war with the opinions of two eminent Judges—Marshall and Washington—both of Virginia—and of three Presidents—Jefferson, Madison and Monroe of the same States—they may serve to account for the total suppression of the Virginia resolution of December, 1816, notwithstanding its almost unanimous support by the legislature. The report of the committee of the Senate announced in its amendment the fact, that Georgia, who first favored the benevolent purpose of the Society, had shortly after united with South Carolina, in protesting against the authority of the General Government to favor its operations. Even Maryland, as I have said, withdrew from the Parent Society her funds when greatly needed, in order to establish at Cape Palmas an independent Colony in the vicinity of Cape Montserrat, and at the meridian of the resources of the Parent Society in men as well as in money. Although Maryland still acted in union with a private Society of her own citizens; and it is presumed by their advice. And now to go back to my narrative.

While the American Society, as I have shown, remained on the return of Mr.

Burgess from Africa, paralyzed for want of funds to carry on its operations, an event occurred, which through its ultimate consequences, afforded it unlooked for relief. William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, and Vice President of the Society, read in a Georgia newspaper an advertisement for the sale of more than 30 African captives, who had been recently liberated from a slaveship, and communicated the intelligence of the actual sale of a greater number similarly circumstanced; the proceeds of which sales, to the amount of 50,000 dollars, yet rested in the State Treasury unappropriated. This startling intelligence doubtless astonished others, as it did me. Mr. Crawford recommended that the Managers of the American Colonization Society should immediately appoint an agent to repair to Milledgeville without delay, in order to arrest the sale of the captives recently advertised; and believing those already sold to be irrevocably lost, to solicit of the State of Georgia a transfer to the Society, for its benevolent use, of the \$50,000 lying in the treasury of the State.

The act of Georgia of 1819 authorizing those apparently very extraordinary proceedings, expressly provided that if prior to any sale, of any recaptured slaves, the Colonization Society would undertake to remove them to Africa, or any foreign country, and would also repay all expenses incurred by the state, in relation to them from their capture and condemnation, they should be delivered to the Society whose motives this act complimented. The Reverend Mr. Meade generously accepted this agency, and hastening to Milledgeville released, to their very great joy, the captives advertised for sale; but he could neither restore to freedom those already sold; nor obtain the proceeds of their sale, for the use of the Society. Nor has either object been since effected, although most eloquently urged upon the Legislature of the State by the Putnam auxiliary society. Acts so inconsistent with the avowed purpose of the United States, in prohibiting the slave trade led me to seek for the authority under which the act of Georgia had been passed subjecting those captives made by our navy in the execution of our own laws, to sale; and consigning them to interminable slavery. This authority was readily discovered in the act of Congress of the 7th of March, 1807, in it is entitled, "an act to prohibit the slave trade," which took effect on the 1st of January, 1808, at which time the federal constitution gave to Congress the power to abolish that traffic. But while this act,

and that, in addition to it, which passed on the 20th of April, 1818, imposed heavy penalties, greatly augmented by the latter, upon all persons, who might sell, or purchase any recaptured African, it placed those captives, when brought in to any State or territory, at the disposal of its Legislature; and provided that no forfeiture or penalty shall attach to any seller, or purchaser, under the authority of such regulations as the State or territory may make. So that in truth, while these acts of 1807 and 1818, prohibit the slave trade, or the selling or purchasing of any recaptured African Negroes, on private account, the several States and Territories were by those permitted to carry on the condemned traffic for their own profit.

Accordingly, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana, availed themselves of this permission, and divided the profits of the trade, between themselves and the captors. In the last three if not in all of these States, sales were actually made, and the victims of the traffic consigned to hereditary slavery, under acts entitled to prohibit the slave trade. Considering the very liberal compensation allowed to the captors, it is not to be wondered, that the captive negroes were, invariably, taken to some one of those states.

While my friend and former schoolmate, Elias B. Caldwell, had all the leisure he could command, from his official duty, occupied by the correspondence of the Colonization Society, that of preparing its second and third annual reports devolved on me as I have stated. Struck with amazement, at the provisions of laws I had not read before, nor conceived possible, I availed myself of the opportunity afforded me in the second annual report, of earnestly inviting the public attention, and especially that of my near neighbor and personal friend, President Monroe, to the singular inconsistency of the title of the acts of Congress of 1807 and 1818, with those extraordinary acts of State legislation. My personal friend, and colleague, Doctor Floyd, being in December, 1818, a member of the Committee on the slave trade, I had no difficulty in prevailing upon him, to unite with us, in framing a bill to be reported to the House of Representatives through his committee, to repeal the objectionable clauses of those acts; and to render them consistent with the avowed policy of the United States.

This bill was promptly prepared, and reported to the House on the 13th of January, 1819, a few days after the second annual report, accompanied by a memorial from the Society, and making together a

very large document, had reached the House, by whose order both were to be printed.*

This bill which afterwards became the act of 1819, effected a total change in the pre-existing laws on the subject of the slave trade. It gave additional vigor to the Navy, and repealed the authority given to the several States and Territories, to dispose of the captives made by it, at their pleasure. It left in full force the forfeiture of not less than \$3000, and the penalty of not less than three years imprisonment for selling or purchasing one of the captives. It allowed to the captors, for every negro liberated from slave ships and landed in the United States, a bounty of twenty-five dollars: it provided that all such liberated Africans should be taken under the special protection and care of the marshals of the several States and Territories, and maintained at the expense of the United States, until they could be restored to their native country. It authorized the President to appoint one or more agents residing on the African coast, to receive them, and appropriated 100,000 dollars to carry the act into effect.

The bill awaited the return of the second annual report from the press, and afterwards, slept in the committee of the whole, in the absence of Doctor Floyd, who had, by leave of the House, gone to his distant home, in Virginia, in consequence of the ill health of a member of his family. At length, on the first of March, it had made so many friends, that a motion prevailed to postpone all the prior orders of the day to take it up, in committee of the whole, whence it was the next day reported, and came up for debate.

The chairman, a member from South Carolina, in whose hands it was deemed to be, officially, Doctor Floyd being still absent, urged me to abandon it, on the ground that it was too late in the session, to ex-

pect it to pass both Houses, and that he deemed it less efficient than the existing law, since it greatly reduced the compensation of the captors of the enslaved negroes; and, to that extent diminished the incentives of our naval officers to a zealous discharge of their duty.

To this appeal, I could not assent. The bill readily passed through the committee of the whole; and the same day, through the House, also, notwithstanding an effort made by a Virginia member to defeat it. On the 2d of March, the day ensuing, it was carried over to the Senate, on the third, the day after, returned to the House, with an amendment, in which the House immediately concurred, and at night it became a law by the approval of the President.

I have been thus particular, Mr. Chairman, in reciting the history of this act of Congress, because I ascribe to its passage and the construction which it received from the President, the success of the Colony, now the Republic of Liberia. In this opinion, I am sustained by the judgement of the Society itself, pronounced when this Republic received its name of Liberia, and its chief city and present capital, that of Monrovia, at the instance of one of the first orators that Virginia, his native State, has produced. I mean Robert Goodloe Harper, then a private citizen of Maryland though once her Senator in Congress, and at an earlier period of his life an inhabitant of South Carolina, and for some years one of her representatives in the same body.†

On the 17th of December, following the act of March, 1819, and shortly after his annual message, the President, by a special communication to each House of Congress, informed them that "some doubt being entertained, respecting the meaning of 'the act of last session, in addition to the acts prohibiting the Slave Trade,' he thought 'proper to state the interpretation he had

*By attaching the reports to memorials as accompanying documents the Society was saved a considerable expense in printing the first three annual reports with their voluminous appendixes.

†Extract from the proceedings of the 7th annual meeting held at the Supreme Court Room in the Capitol on Friday the 20th February, 1824.

Genl. Harper having named the Colony *Liberia*, with the approbation of the meeting, again rose and said: "I will now offer another resolution of a similar character, but with a different object. It is not only to give a name to the principal town in our infant settlement, but at the same time to mark the gratitude of this Society to that venerable and distinguished individual to whom it is more indebted, than to any other single man. It is perfectly well known, that but for the favorable use he has been pleased to make of the great powers confided to him (a use as wise as it was liberal) all our attempts and efforts must have been unavailing. No means that we possessed or could have possessed would have proved adequate without his aid. As an acknowledgment for his high and useful services, I make the following motion:

Resolved, that the town laid out and established at Liberia shall be called and known

"given it, and the measures intended to carry it into effect; that Congress may should it be deemed advisable amend it before further proceeding is had under it. To the President's liberal interpretation, which though literal, was not less just than indispensably necessary to the due execution of the act, and the acquittal of the Government of the United States, from the gross neglect of a solemn duty, many exceptions were taken more than ten years after, in a letter of a 4th Auditor, to the Secretary of the Navy, spread over not less than seven pages, and made a public document, to accompany President Jackson's annual message of December, 1830. Among other criticisms, this extraordinary document—extraordinary considering the subordinate station of its writer—presumes to say, nothing is more evident to my mind, than that a large portion of these expenditures (authorised by President Monroe) is not justified by the language or object of the act of 1819. It would seem (says this writer, the fourth auditor,) that the terms of the act were hardly sufficient to authorize the establishment of a colony, owing allegiance to the United States, and entitled to protection, if even "Congress itself possess a right to authorise such an establishment." "It may be thought that the Government had done all it legitimately could when it returned the recaptured negroes to the shores of their native continent. Yet the writer adds, "It is not, however, my province, to recommend any measure of curtailment to the Navy Department." Moderation in the auditor certainly deserving of commendation. He admits also that "a different construction had been given to the act by the Government itself."

The silent acquiescence of both Houses of Congress in President Monroe's liberal

construction of this act continued through the residue of his service and the whole of his immediate successor's, together a period of more than 10 years, is a sufficient evidence of the correspondence of that construction with the views which dictated the act itself. The 4th auditor makes it in his letter a subject of complaint, that in August, 1830, rather more than 264,000 dollars had been expended, under the act; with which, allow me to add, that if the sum which has subsequently been disbursed on the same account, be included along with the more recent appropriation of \$37,000 on account of the 700 Africans liberated at Liberia, from the Slave ship Pons, it is highly probable, that the total expenditure under the act of 1819, exceeds \$350,000.

If, Mr. Chairman, we now turn our attention to the receipts of the American Colonization Society, which its annual reports show for fourteen months, between the 21st of January, 1821, and of March, 1822, to have amounted to but \$746, or indeed the total revenue from private subscriptions, and donations, for the first five years of the existence of the Society, it will be seen how worse than futile it would have been to attempt to found a colony in Africa upon such a narrow and uncertain basis. In this period the American Government applied to our use, in effect, near one hundred thousand dollars, one third of which sum was placed in the hands of our Agent, Mr. Bacon, by order of Mr. Monroe, before the first colonists, but 88 in number, left New York. Without this or an equivalent aid from some other quarter, the Elizabeth never would have sailed for Africa, and had the construction of the 4th auditor in his letter of August, 1830, communicated to Congress with apparent approval by the President of

by the name of Monrovia as an acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the present illustrious chief magistrate of the United States.

This compliment, so well merited, reflected no little credit on its author: and, as evidence of an important fact is the more to be regarded, since Genl. Harper, a distinguished leader of the Federal party during the administrations of both Washington, and the elder Adams, had never been a political, or personal friend of James Monroe. With this testimony, how singularly does that contrast, which is to be derived from a very eloquent speech of Mr. Morehead reported in a public document of 1088 pages. In the month of February, 1820, he eloquently tells the society a small vessel left the harbor of New York, on a voyage across the Atlantic. She was the American ship *Elizabeth*, her cargo 88 emancipated Slaves. Her place of destination, the western coast of Africa. Who planned the expedition? Who chartered the *Elizabeth*? who furnished her cargo? The Government of the United States or the Government of any State or territory of the American Union? Had I been present, I must have replied, James Monroe, who, of the \$100,000 provided by the act of 1819, appropriated more than \$30,000 to the use of this expedition, without which it would never have left the American shore. The eloquent orator's reply ascribes it, exclusively, to private individuals; and so has it been ever since, as it was long before, fashionable to ascribe its origin and even its suggestion to a venerable gentleman of New Jersey.

the United States, who was also a Vice President of the American Colonization Society, in 1830, prevailed in Congress, in 1819, the Colony of Liberia would never have existed.

May I not, therefore, ascribe to James Monroe, the successful prosecution of our enterprise? Must it not have failed without the aid which he afforded us? It was not by the warranted application of the public money alone that he manifested his zeal for our noble cause, which he properly regarded as the cause of Africa and America, of more than half the globe which we inhabit.

Can the Society have forgotten that the colony of more than 80 colored emigrants who had embarked in the *Elizabeth*, lost in a short time by death, twenty-one of their number; along with our own, and the Government Agents, Bacon, Bankson and Crozier? that the remaining colonists fled from the cupidity of the natives, led on by the traitor Kizell, for protection and succor, to the British settlement of Sierra Leone? That their little vessel had been wrecked and their stores exhausted, when Captain Wadsworth, under the orders of the President, arrived for their relief, repaired their small schooner by the labor of his own seamen, and from the stores of himself and wardroom officers supplied all their wants; while by his kind sympathy comforted them in their affliction, and reanimated their hopes? That Captain Stockton following under like orders and accompanied by the United States Colonial Agent, Doctor Ayres, sailed down the African Coast in quest of a new home for the surviving colonists, and purchased at the distance of several hundred miles, the healthy promontory of Montserado, and planted them there? That Captain Spence, succeeding them with like orders, aided by forty Kroomen, built for them a martello tower of stone, while exposed to most imminent danger, from the infuriated natives; and renewing their exhausted supplies, left them in security and comfort?

Those gallant and generous officers in performing those acts of charity doubtless followed the dictates of their own benevolent hearts, while they acted in conformity to the express orders of an administration of which James Monroe was the chief, with a cabinet, some of whom doubted the interpretation which he gave to the act of 1819, and were indeed no friends of African Colonization.

Mr. Chairman, may I not be permitted here to express my sincere regret, the only regret I could feel, while I listened with unfeigned delight, to the eloquent gentle-

man who first addressed us, that, in an enumeration of our first and most illustrious chief magistrates, beginning as he properly did where very American points, at Washington, he ended with the name of Madison. I would he had added that of his immediate successor. He was in truth the only one of them all who had shed his blood in defence of the liberty of his country. He had also healed the wounds inflicted by party discord on the integrity of our Union, in the second contest with the same foe. In a long and prosperous administration, he persecuted no man for difference of opinion from himself. He made no political hypocrites by encouraging the loud plaudits of partisans; or stifling the voice of manly opposition. To him political prostitution was no recommendation for official reward. Yet were there many of his fellow citizens, and I among the number, who prior to his first term of service, would have preferred another candidate. Yet had he conducted his administration for the four years of his first term of service, with so much wisdom, prudence, firmness and moderation, that at its close throughout all the Electoral Colleges, but a single voice was heard against his re-election.

He alone of all the successors of Washington, approached within one vote of that unanimity which twice elevated the father of his country to the same exalted station. Nor, though he had long filled the highest offices which his country could confer on him, did he decline the lowest as beneath his acceptance.

He passed to the convention of Virginia over which he presided in 1829, from the performance of the humble though useful duties of a simple county justice of the peace, and again returned to them from that convention in 1830, with a broken constitution that hurried him to his grave. In all his relations of life, public and private, abroad and at home, from 1801, to the period of his death on the 4th of July, 1831, I knew him personally, and most intimately; and I do solemnly bear witness to the unblemished purity of his life.

But had his patriotic and benevolent labors been limited to the single cause of African Colonization of which he was the effective founder and steady patron, he would have earned a fame destined, we may hope, to increase from year to year, and broad as that vast continent.

It is not my wish, Mr. Chairman, to take from others their just share of reputation, while I demonstrate that the whole scheme of African Colonization had, as regards both its objects and its actors, a southern

origin. To the first African colonists themselves; to Coker, and Carey, and their associates in the Elizabeth—to the numerous agents, and pious missionaries who gave their lives to Africa, and above all to Ashmun, by whose wisdom, industry and perseverance in the civil administration of the colony, order was elicited from confusion: by whose indomitable courage and conduct, amidst the most threatening danger, the Colony was twice saved from destruction by its savage neighbors—immeasurable praise will forever be awarded. It is not for me, however, to presume to mete out the quantum of applause due to such a generous friend of such a downtrodden continent; though before I quit this grateful theme, allow me to distinguish one, now seated in my view, to whom the little council who first met in the Gallery of the House of Representatives, transferred their labors for Africa, as soon as the American Colonization Society was able to maintain an official Agent. I refer to my estimable and pious friend, the Rev. Mr. Gurley, who twice visited that continent, undeterred by a climate so well suited to its native sons, and their descendants, but most fortunately for them, so fatal to the white man.

I well recollect his return home from his first voyage with a broken constitution, a complexion so discolored, that he might well have been mistaken for one of the sable race for which he had so long and so zealously labored.

Mr. Chairman, the avowed object of the Virginia resolution of Dec., 1816, was the removal to Africa of the free colored population of the State who might desire such an asylum, and of such of her slaves as their masters might please to emancipate. It was the renewal, as I have shown you, of an effort secretly made, twelve years before.* When disappointed in that effort from causes not yet satisfactorily explained as I think, she prohibited all further emancipation of slaves unless immediately followed by removal from the State under an inhibition never to return. The date and motives of this policy are engraven on my memory, as it obliged me to hasten the emancipation of several of my own servants, whom I had bound out for the benefit of instruction in some useful art or occupation, and were not yet old enough to provide for themselves. Such had been the desire while living, of one whose wishes I was bound to respect. It was a hard lot to be obliged to decline

*In 1786, from his retirement at Monticello, Mr. Jefferson issued to the world in his notes on Virginia, a plan of emancipating and colonizing all the colored race in Virginia, accompanied by the most animated appeal to the justice and humanity of his native State.

On the 31st of December, 1800, the House of Delegates of Virginia passed a resolution requesting Governor Monroe to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing lands beyond the limits of the State; whither persons obnoxious to the law, or dangerous to the peace of society, may be removed.

In executing this resolution, the Governor on the tenth of June, 1801, addressed a letter to Mr. Jefferson, requesting information, "whether any friendly power will be disposed to facilitate the measure, by co-operating in its accomplishment." We perceive an existing evil, which commenced under our colonial system, with which we are not properly chargeable, or if at all, not in the present degree, and we acknowledge the extreme difficulty of correcting it. At this point the mind rests with suspense, and surveys with anxiety obstacles which become more serious as we approach them.

To the letter from which the preceding passages are extracted Mr. Jefferson replied on the 24th of November following, in a long letter from which these sentences are selected—

"I had not," he says, "been unmindful of your letter covering a resolution of the House of Delegates. You will perceive that some circumstances connected with the subject, and necessarily presenting themselves to view, would be improper, but for your and the legislative ear."

"Africa would offer a last and undoubted resort, if all others more desirable, should fail us. Whenever the Legislature of Virginia shall have brought its mind to a point, so that I may know what to propose to foreign authorities, I will execute their wishes with fidelity and zeal."

In communicating to the General Assembly on the 31st of December, 1801, this letter, from which the preceding language is literally extracted, the Governor concludes: "It is proper to add, that it is the wish of the President that the communication be considered confidential."

On the 23d of January, 1802, the Senate concurred in a resolution which had passed the House of Delegates seven days before, with a preamble, expressing a preference of Africa, or South America, for the contemplated colony, and requesting the renewal of

freedom, or to accept it on such terms—and when I came afterwards to learn from personal observation the actual condition of the free colored population of the north, I thought that lot still harder, for I was taught by all that I heard or saw, to consider the condition of a free negro in one of the free States as they are called, much worse than that of the southern slave, who has not a tyrant for his master.

The reasons on which I ground this opinion, I have not on the present occasion, time to relate.

By many, perhaps by the far greater part of my audience, these reasons are already well understood, and properly appreciated. Sir, although I consider slavery an evil, and so far differ from a modern opinion unheard of in Virginia at least

thirty years ago—I am so far from being an abolitionist in the sense in which that term is now currently used, that were all the slaves of my native State liberated tomorrow, I would promptly surrender to them my birth right and the bones of my race for generations past, to seek for myself a home beyond her limits. One of my most earnest hopes in giving to African Colonization more than four years of my life, more than in all human probability now remains, was to furnish for the benefit of all classes of our southern population facilities for emancipation without enduring a greater evil than slavery itself. Until I learn that Massachusetts has repealed her laws inhibiting intermarriage between her white and colored population—that those races are

the Governor's correspondence with the President, in order to obtain a *place without the limits of the United States*, to which free negroes and mulattoes and such as may be emancipated may be sent or choose to remove, as a place of asylum.

On the 27th of December, 1804, Mr. Jefferson addressed a letter to Governor Page, the successor of Mr. Monroe, in which, resuming the subject of the Virginia resolutions, and referring to others of February, 1804, he writes, "I have it not in my power to say that any change of circumstances has taken place, which enables me yet to propose any specific asylum for the persons who are the subjects of our correspondence. The Island of St. Domingo, our nearest and most convenient resource, is too unsettled in the conditions of existence, and the European Nations have territories in the same quarter, and possess the same population. Whether the inhabitants of our late acquisitions, beyond the Mississippi, or the National Legislature would consent that a portion of that country should be set apart for the persons contemplated, it is not in my competence to say. My information as to Sierra Leone is that the company was proposing to deliver up that Colony to the Government. Should this take place it might furnish occasion for another effort to procure an incorporation of ours with it. An attack during the war has done this settlement great injury." The President concludes: "I beg you to be assured that, having the object of the House of Delegates sincerely at heart, I will keep it under my constant attention, and omit no occasion of giving it effect." But the General Assembly had already declared its preference of Africa, and Sierra Leone was but a point on its extensive coast where at no moment could it have been difficult, as experience has shown, to procure territory for such a colony.

Again, on the 22d of January, 1805, the Virginia Legislature being disappointed in its appeal to Mr. Jefferson for aid, passed a fourth resolution, "instructing their Senators, and requesting their Representatives in Congress, to exert their best efforts, for the purpose of obtaining, from the General Government, a competent portion of Territory in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of color, as have been or shall be emancipated in Virginia." This resolution was, on the 2d of February, 1805, forwarded by the Governor to the Senators and Representatives from Virginia, in Congress, with a copy of the preceding correspondence, and a reference to the President for more satisfactory information. The Governor terminates his letter covering this resolution, with the following singular caution: "*From the nature of the delicate business contemplated in the resolution, you will see the propriety of its being considered confidential.*"

How ended the persevering efforts of Virginia? for of the action of her Representatives in Congress after her resolution of 1805 there is no record, that I have seen. What is more remarkable, in the year 1811 from the same retirement from which the "Notes on Virginia" had issued, Mr. Jefferson in reply to a letter from Mr. John Lynd, after referring to his efforts prior to 1804, to accomplish the object of the Virginia resolutions, takes no notice of the resolution of 1805, but in reply to Mr. Lynd's enquiry "whether he would use his endeavors to procure such an establishment as Ann Midlin proposed on the African coast, security against violence from other persons,

blended to the north in social intercourse, are mingled together in the civil and military administration of the governments of the free States, I shall maintain the opinion I now express, that freedom to the slave in the United States without colonization is not a blessing but a curse to the descendants of Africa both bond and free.

Our Society has, in truth, nothing whatever to do with domestic slavery. It adopts the colored man after he has been emancipated; and provides for him a home and a country where he may not only enjoy freedom with independence,

but acquire for himself wealth and honor, and for Africa, his country, distinction among the nations of the earth. The Colonization Society has been condemned because in the pursuit of an attainable good, they have not wasted their efforts in an impracticable and at least questionable object. But what, let me ask, has been done for the free colored race in America by those who so liberally censure us? Have the late acts of the State of Indiana benefitted their condition by absolutely excluding the colored population of the adjacent slave holding States from

and particularly the French," writes, "*certainly I shall be willing to do any thing I can, to give it effect and safety,*" and he adds "I am but a private individual, and could only use endeavors with individuals; whereas the National Government can address themselves at once, to those of Europe, to obtain the desired security, and will unquestionably be ready to exert its influence with these nations to effect an object so benevolent in itself and so important to *some great portion of its constituents*; indeed," Mr. Jefferson adds emphatically, "*nothing is more to be wished than that the United States should, themselves, undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*" In an earlier part of this letter, the writer says, "Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that an establishment on the coast of Africa to which the free people of color of these States might be colonized, from time to time, under the auspices of different governments, the most desirable measure which could be adopted for drawing off this part of our population—most advantageous for themselves, and for us."

How much, then, is it to be regretted that Mr. Jefferson had not in January, 1802, when the second resolution of Virginia had expressed her preference of Africa, as the site of the colony which the State contemplated, and a site of which he had expressly approved, as the most desirable, and undoubted resort, availed himself of his great and growing popularity, to recommend such an establishment to Congress, or while his authority as President of the United States continued, that he had not exerted it to procure by negotiation, of some one or more of the numerous tribes on the coast of that vast continent as territory which the State, having surrendered her power of treating with foreign states, could not herself obtain, without the aid of the General Government. Or had he even deferred the exercise of his undoubted authority, so to speak, till his re-election had assured him of an augmented popularity and almost unbounded influence over the councils of his country, and the public service, had so far exceeded his own anticipations that he apprehended danger from an overflowing treasury—what immense public good might he not have effected not only for his native State, but for the entire Union. No desire to acquire for the United States sovereignty over a distant territory or danger to the constitution for its admission into our Union, stood in the way of the success of such a negotiation, and one thousandth part of the cost of Louisiana would have opened the doors to that plan of colonization, which he seems to have cherished from 1786 to 1810, a period of five and twenty years.

In 1819, Mr. Monroe in effect accomplished with the implied sanction of both Houses of Congress, for 100,000 dollars, the actual establishment, which Virginia had so long desired, in conformity with her renewed resolution of 1816. But the mere purchase of the Territory of Montserado did not cost Captain Stockton and Mr. Ayres, the colonial agents, a twentieth of the sum appropriated by the act of March, 1819.

What might not have become the condition of Virginia by this time, whose free colored population by the census of 1800, very little exceeded 20,000, and whose whole slave population to be less than 346,000, provided her efforts to colonize them in Africa had not then been frustrated. Instead of being reduced to the painful necessity of prohibiting emancipation in 1805, had the door to African colonization been thrown open then, as she most earnestly, and repeatedly, solicited through the only power to which she could apply for aid, what might she not have accomplished for her free colored population, now swelled to 54,333, for her slaves, now augmented to 472,526, and for Africa, the continued victim of the slave trade, for a period not yet ended of more than half a century.

her territory? What will the measures now contemplated by Illinois and Ohio, effect for their benefit? What do the inhabitants of Mercer county in the last of these States propose for their relief? In violation of all law, they forcibly deny them a domicile in their vicinity, and have in fact, expelled and dispersed those from Virginia who recently sought an asylum in their country.

Every man innocent of crime has a right to dwell some where on the earth. The Colonization Society have sought to procure a home for the degraded free negro, now become the object of universal persecution. Sir, there is not a State of our Union which is not deeply interested in the objects of the Colonization Society, and should not strive to promote them. Especially do these interests press upon those States who, like Indiana, are already aware of the inconvenience, to say nothing of the danger to the public peace, of multiplying in their bosom a population whom they will not admit to all the rights of free-men.

How would the North relish a transfer to their Territory, instead of Africa, of the 250,000 free negroes of the South and West, to say nothing of the slaves that may yet be emancipated on condition of their removal to the free States of the North. Canada already complains of their obtrusion upon their own inhospitable climate.

Another object of the Virginia resolution was the effectual abolition of an odious traffic which had hitherto resisted successfully the operation of the laws of the United States.

Five American Vessels had been captured on the Coast of Africa, and condemned in the year 1820; and 248 Africans were in charge of the Marshal of Georgia, taken from one ship, sixty others were in the custody of the Marshal, in the vicinity of Savannah, while 40 or 50 more had been sent out of the State; in the language of the Secretary of the Navy, under what orders it is not known. The Commander of the United States Ship Cyane, reported to the same officers from off Sierra Leone, that the slave trade was carried to a very great extent, that there were probably, he states, 300 vessels on the African Coast, engaged in the traffic, having each two or three sets of papers. I sincerely hope, he adds, Government have

revised the law to give us more authority. You have no idea how cruelly these poor creatures are treated by the monsters engaged in taking them on the coast. The letters of various collectors of the customs to the Secretary of the Treasury, at the same period, manifested how ineffectual were the existing laws to prevent the smuggling of slaves into the United States from the Gulf of Mexico.

What, let me further ask, had been effected prior to the act of 1819; further abolition of that trade now made piracy by our laws, and prohibited under heavy penalties as early as the 7th of March, 1807; by an act to take effect on the 1st of January following, though never executed till 1818. Not a single slave ship had been taken, nor a single African captive brought into the United States, prior to that year. The Collectors of Savannah, Nova Iberia, Brunswick and Savannah in Georgia, of Mobile and New Orleans, complained in 1818 and 1820, of the continued smuggling of African Negroes into the adjacent territory of the United States; and the Collector, Mr. Chew, of the last city, advised the Secretary of the Treasury, that no slave ship, captured by our Navy, should be brought into Louisiana to be condemned, for reasons not very creditable to the policy, humanity or justice of that State.

In the very first year after the passage of the act of 1819; twelve years after the act of March, 1807, went into legal operation, five slave ships were taken, condemned to forfeiture by the District Courts of New York and Massachusetts, and their commanders punished by fine and imprisonment.

The same President, who by his liberal construction of that act of 1819, gave existence to a colony, which has substituted a legitimate commerce along 700 miles of the African coast in the fruits of African labor, for the odious traffic in the bones and sinews of her children, sought by every practicable means that he could conceive, or his friends suggest, to abolish utterly this detestable traffic.

The qualified exchange of the right of search with Great Britain, in order to the detection and punishment of the violation of the laws of God and man, did not fail through any fault of his administration though his cabinet was notoriously divided on the subject.*

*Mr. Adams expressly referred to this division in a speech which he delivered twenty years after in the House of Representatives. In this he assigned to me, with what justice it will be seen, the credit of the rejected treaty, though in no unfriendly manner.

The negotiations into which he was requested to enter by a resolution adopted with almost unexampled unanimity, in order to make the slave trade piracy under the law of nations, by the universal consent of all the maritime powers of Europe and America, he diligently prosecuted. The

Republic of Columbia before the dissolution of her Union, and Great Britain, promptly acceded to his proposal, which had it been universally adopted, would have superseded all special treaties for the exchange, however qualified, of the right of search. And why had this laudable effort

But in truth he laid the foundation of this rejection of the draught of a convention which he transmitted to Mr. Rush, with his letter of the 24th of June, 1823. Indeed the entire letter breathes a spirit hostile to any treaty. It begins with a most incorrect statement that the House of Representatives by rejecting an amendment moved to the resolution which he truly represents to have been the origin of the negotiation, indicated hostility to any exchange of the right of search with Great Britain. On the very last day of the session, on the 3d of March, 1823, the following resolution was moved for consideration. "That the President be requested to enter upon and to prosecute from time to time such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade and its ultimate denunciation as piracy under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world." While this resolution was under consideration and the House evidently impatient to pass it, as it did by an overwhelming majority, Mr. Robert Wright of Maryland, moved to insert by way of amendment a provision for exchanging the right of search.

The previous question being called for, was almost unanimously carried. To this fact Mr. Adams refers as a rejection of an amendment, and a proof that the House was opposed to any exchange of the right of search on any terms. Now it is singular enough that the Secretary of State was fully aware that the motive of giving the denomination of piracy to the slave trade which he himself had very harshly condemned in the presence of its author, was to dispense with any necessity for such exchange, by incorporating in the law of nations the new denomination of that offence, so as to remove the difficulties which the Secretary has thrown in the way of any negotiation with the British Government on the subject of search. If made piracy by universal consent, then all the consequences of piracy would attach to it.—Search, seizure, condemnation and punishment, as in the case of any other piracy. To incorporate in the resolution, therefore, a special provision for any such exchange of that right as Great Britain had sought, and the Secretary rejected, would have been inconsistent with the object of the resolution, and absurd in itself.

Nor was it true, as the Secretary stated to Mr. Marsh, that at two preceding sessions of Congress, there had been no decision by the House of Representatives upon the resolutions which followed reports in favor of the exchange of qualified right of search. That which closed the report of February, 1821, written by Mr. Hemphill and myself, in conjunction, was not called up, because he had been opposed to any action on the subject, and reluctantly assented to my adding the resolution to the report. That report recommended an exchange of the right of search, to a limited extent only, from the African coast. Its last sentence suggests that "if the slave ships are permitted to escape from the African Coast, and to be dispersed to different parts of the world, their capture would be rendered uncertain and hopeless," and so the fact has proved. On the 8th of May, 1820, Mr. Hemphill, being in Philadelphia, two sections were moved by me, on behalf of the Committee, by way of amendment to a bill from the Senate to make the slave trade piracy. The amendment having prevailed on the very next day, the same acting Chairman in Mr. Hemphill's absence, submitted in behalf of the committee, three resolutions. The first of which was a joint resolution, requesting the President of the United States to negotiate with all the Governments to which ministers of the United States are accredited, as the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the slave trade. It was moved to lay this resolution on the table. The motion was overruled by a vote of 78 to 35 members, or more than two to one. A motion was then made to defer it to the next session of Congress, which motion was rejected, without a division. It was then ordered to be engrossed and read a third time the same day, and being engrossed was passed that day, and sent over to the Senate.

As it contemplated the entire, and immediate, abolition of the slave trade, it obviously referred to the amendment of the Senate's bill moved on the day before, by which the

not succeeded? Why, the very effort died with the administration of James Monroe. Why was it not revived by his successors in office? Why is it now suspended? The terms of the resolution which I had the honor to move, furnished no ground for limiting the duration of the contemplated negotiations.

Could not the united efforts of Great Britain and America revive it with success? Why should this be doubted? The Quintuple treaty, signed at London in 1841, between Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, expressly declares the slave trade to be piracy. France withheld her assent not from my declaration, but from the treaty which contained other provisions that she did not approve.

While denounced by the United States alone as piracy, the denunciation would affect America only. But the law of nations which derives its origin from the application of the principles of morality to communities of men in their separate political capacity of nations, and from their treaties and usages, has its sanction in their universal assent or acquiescence.—It may be extended or meliorated by the same influence and authority which created it. Many centuries have not elapsed since the first modern compendium of its maxims was published to the world. It is not like the laws of the ancient Medes and Persians, unchangeable. And no change of it would redound more to the honor of our country than that contemplated by the

slave trade had been denounced as piracy. But Mr. Adams, it seems, did not so understand it. The Senators did not adopt the resolution, considering it irregular, on their part, to anticipate a negotiation by the executive, since they would be committed to approve in anticipation a treaty negotiated at their instance.

It was to avoid this objection that the resolution of March, 1823, passed so unanimously by the House of Representatives, did not ask the concurrence of the Senate on its adoption.

Its whole intention was frustrated for the time at least by the very singular draught of the treaty sent to Mr. Rush, which, if regarded as proposing an exchange of the right of search, went far beyond any report on the subject or intention of the House of Representatives, in extending its operation to America, and the West Indies; and if designed, as its title and the terms of its first article professed, to make the slave trade piracy, by the law of nations, inconsistent with the almost unanimous sentiment of the House to which, in his letter to Mr. Rush, Mr. Adams referred the action of the President in instituting any such negotiation. Moreover, the British Government had made the slave trade piracy by parliament, as required by Mr. Adams before the negotiation was allowed to commence—a requisition which he notices to have been repugnant to the feelings of Mr. Canning. It was, on the rejection of the treaty, made by him a cause of complaint.

But without any treaty it was better calculated to meet the views of the House of Representatives than the treaty itself, since it left untrammelled the denunciation of the slave trade as piracy, and rendered it practicable by the same simple denunciation to obtain the like assent of all other maritime States. It is due to the subject to state that in several interviews with Mr. Monroe he expressed extreme anxiety that Great Britain would accept the treaty as modified by the Senate, and Lord Palmerston openly expressed to me in 1842, his regret that his Government had not done so.

With Mr. Monroe's consent and approbation, I addressed to Mr. Stratford Canning, who had returned home from the United States, leaving Mr. Adington as the representative of his Government in his absence, a letter urging through him on his relative, the Minister in London, considerations that could not emanate directly from the President, or through his official organ, in favor of the modified treaty. The letter was read and approved by Mr. Monroe, and in reply to it, I was assured that it had been received in the spirit which dictated it, though it did not satisfy the excited feelings of the Minister.

And, then there, now that France alone of all the great maritime powers of Europe, holds aloof from any international agreement to abolish the slave trade, be any insuperable difficulty in successfully renewing the effort to obtain an universal though simple denunciation of the slave trade as piracy? France abolished the slave trade on the return of the Emperor, Napoleon, from Elba. Will the present Emperor refuse to follow the example of one so nearly related to him, and whose steps he seeks to tread? France who under the Bourbon dynasty, was the first and only christian nation to tender to the Colonization Society, through her Minister, De Neuville and the author of this note, by a letter published in an appendix to an Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, her only territory on the Continent of America for the reception of our

resolution to which the House of Representatives gave its sanction at the close of the Session of 1823, by a vote of 131 of its members to a minority of 9 only.—In the language of a report of a committee on the slave trade, it is affirmed that the United States in denouncing the African slave trade as piracy had established by an act of Congress its true denomination. That the resolution of 1823, contemplated the extension of its principle by negotiation to the code of all nations. It denounced the authors of this stupendous iniquity as the enemies of the human race, and armed all men with authority to detect, pursue, arrest and punish them.—Such a measure to succeed, must have a beginning somewhere: commencing with the assent of any two States to regard it as binding on themselves, it would by the gradual accession of others, enlarge the sphere of its operations until it embraced as the resolution contemplated, all the maritime powers of the civilized world. It made no distinction in favor of those pirates who prey upon the property of those who seize, torture, and kill or consign to hereditary slavery, the persons of their enemies. It is believed that the most ancient piracies consisted in converting innocent captives into slaves; and those were not attended as these modern piracies with the destruction of a third of their victims by loathsome confinement and mortal disease. While the modern therefore accords with the ancient denomination of this crime, its punishment is not disproportionate to its guilt. It has robbery and murder for its mere accessories, and moistens one continent with blood and tears, to curse another by physical and moral suffering.

One consolation will attend upon the new remedy for this frightful prolific evil. Hence successful, it will ever remain so, until being unexerted, its practical application will be found in history alone. Can it be doubted that if ever legitimate com-

merce shall supplant the root of this evil in Africa, and a reliance on other subjections of human labor to its use elsewhere, a revival of the slave trade will be as impracticable as a reversion to barbarism. That after the lapse of a century from its extinction, except where the consequences of this crime shall survive, the oral traditions of the slave trade, among the unlettered, will seem as improbable as the expeditions of the heroes of Homer, whose language has supplied us with the name by which our country has been the first to denounce this crime.

Having now, sir, consumed much more of your time than I expected when I undertook to perform what I conceive to be a public duty; I am aware that in the frequent allusions to transactions in which I bore a part, I may have subjected myself to the charge of egotism.

Yet, when it shall be recollected that many of those transactions in which I had borne a part, have rested for more than a third of a century, in my own knowledge and that of a very few intimate friends, without an effort, on my part, to publish them or profit by their disclosures, in any way: that the tedious narrative to which you have so patiently listened is that of an old man, who never in his youth, or in the vigor of manhood, either for the acquisition of popular favor or official station, played the demagogue or the courtier; who voluntarily retired from public life, and left for an obscure occupation in a remote State, a people whose undiminished confidence he had enjoyed for thirty years of continuous public service in the highest station, but one, that they could confer on him. Under such circumstances, may he not hope to escape so odious an imputation, if he has not pride to spurn it, under a consciousness of having sought to perform a duty to the living as well as to the dead, and above all, to the State that gave him birth.

free colored population on terms so generous, that through fear of non-acceptance I begged and obtained from M. De Nueville to suppress their disclosure till our African Colony should be firmly established. That generous and amiable Minister, a contributor to the funds of our colony, assured me that one and probably the chief cause why his country rejected the proposal from Great Britain to exchange the right of search, was hostility to the source from whence the proposal came—an hostility which arose rather from recently wounded pride than ancient recollections.

As to the attack on Sierra Leone during her war with England, it was disavowed by her revolutionary government, and condemned as a wanton aggression, a fact which the letter of Mr. Lynd to Mr. Jefferson and his answer omit to notice.

May it not then be hoped that the Government of the United States will in conformity with the terms of the almost unanimous resolution of the House of Representatives yet accomplish a purpose long intermitted, but once steadily pursued and felt worthy of the humanity and justice of the American people.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 24th of March to the 20th of April, 1853.

MAINE.

By Capt. George Barker :—
Brewer—Mrs. J. A. Dyer, to constitute James A. Dyer of Brewer, a life member of the Am. Col. Society..... 30 00

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Capt. George Barker :—
Concord—Onslow Stearns, Esq.. 10 00

VERMONT.

By Rev. William Mitchell :—
Brandon—On account of the Vermont Col. Society.—Samuel Conant, \$3; John Conant, Mrs. John A. Conant, William M. Field, each \$2, E. June, B. Davenport, A. G. Dand, Ira Button, E. J. Bliss, each \$1... 14 00

East Rutland—J. Barrett, Geo. T. Hodges, each \$5; G. C. Ruggles, \$3; O. L. Robbins, L. Daniels, Rev. S. Aiken, D. Johnson, each \$2; L. Mason, Rev. Leland Howard, N. Kellogg, Miss Luna F. Hall, Mrs. Anna Hodges, R. Burdett, Moses Perkins, F. W. Hopkins, H. Hall, cash, W. H. B. Owen, Nathan Howard, John Cook, E. Edgarton, a friend, C. B. Harrington, H. O. Perkins, Daniel Gleason, Truman Moulthrop, Samuel Clark, Alvin Tenney, Rodger Ladd, Asabel Cleveland, Mrs. Wm. Barnes, Mrs. Aaron Barnes, Henry Lester, Gersham Cheney, each \$1; C. Carpenter, Moses Curtis, Mrs. J. Cheney, Miss Neal, each 50 cents; Misses C. & A. Pierpont, 20 cents..... 50 20

Centre Rutland—G. H. Beamian, Wm. Gookin, James Osgood, each \$1; James Graham, Thos. R. Bailey, E. L. Bailey, each 50 cents..... 4 50

West Rutland—Abner Mead, W. F. Barnes, Elizabeth Munger, each \$5; Wm. Gilmore, John Proctor, B. F. Blanchard, David Morgan, Dea. Boardman, J. M. Mead, Wm. Humphrey, Dea. Griggs, Wait Chatterton, Betsey Haskall, Judson Gorham, E. G. Chatterton, each \$2; Rev. A. Walker, J. L. Gilmore, cash, Mrs. Ward, M. P. Humphrey, Isaac Lyman, cash, Mrs. Horatio Mead, J.

T. Chatterton, M. Reynolds, J. C. Reynolds, J. M. Chatterton, C. G. Boardman, Mrs. Gilmore, Dea. Zina Johnson, Thomas McLaughlin, Mrs. Catharine Pratt, L. Watkins, Lucy Hall, Noah Griswold, J. K. Winchell, Andrew J. Mead, each \$1; Mrs. E. Blanchard, \$1 50; R. Watkins, C. M. Townsend, M. C. Bogue, R. R. Mead, H. C. Bliss, A. H. Lyman, Wm. Gray, J. Bailey, A. Perry, E. Ward, Mary Goodrich, each 50 cents; Sarah Smith, J. Steadman, Mrs. M. Chatterton, G. Spencer, Mrs. Linsley, each 25 cents..... 69 25

Wallingford—Dea. Hall, \$5; Harvey Button, Joel Hill, each \$2; Israel Munson, \$2 50, Mrs. J. Fox, Edwin Martindale, H. Harris, Ephraim Hulet, each \$1; L. R. Bucklin, Rhoda White, each 50 cents..... 16 50

By David Baldwin, Esq.:
Montpelier—E. P. Watton, life member, \$20; collection in Brick Church, \$4; F. F. Merrill, T. Goes, Mrs. J. R. Langdon, Mrs. Dr. Clark, John Sparding, Jas. Sparding, J. T. Thurston, Keith & Barker, each \$1; T. R. Merrill, D. P. Thompson, Mrs. Boydon, P. Washburn, Mrs. Herrick, G. Darrow, jr., each 50 cents; E. B. Reed, 25 cents..... \$35.25
 Less paid towards report 8.25

27 00

Peacham—Balance of legacy left the American Colonization Society by the late Dr. Josiah Shedd, of Peacham, Vt., by Samuel A. Chandler, Esq., Executor..... 1,972 42

By Rev. Wm. Mitchell :
Castleton—B. F. Adams, \$5; Hiram Ainsworth, \$2..... 7 00

Fair Haven—J. Davey, Esq..... 5 00

2,165 87

MASSACHUSETTS.

By Capt. George Barker :
Newburyport—Hon. Micajah Lunt, John Harrod, Wm. Cushing, Edward L. Rand, each \$10; Wm. Stone, Eben'r Stone, each \$5; Josiah Little, \$2; Mrs. Greenleaf, Capt. Whittemore,

Joshua Hale, Mrs. Hale, Mrs. Marsh, Miss Hale, Mrs. E. Hale, each \$1; cash 50 cents. . . 50 50
Haverhill—David Marsh, \$30, to constitute Rev. Geo. Washington Kelly, a life member of the Am. Col. Society, Dea. Samuel Chase, \$5; Mrs. A. Kittredge, \$4; Mrs. E. C. Ames, \$3; Miss A. Hasseltine, J. H. Duncan, each \$2; Miss B. Lovejoy, \$1; Mrs. Taggart, 50 cents . . . 47 50

107 00

RHODE ISLAND.

By Capt. George Barker :—
Panucket—Rev. Constantine Blodget, \$3; Esquire French, \$1 . . . 4 00
Providence—Hon. Elisha Harris. . . 5 00

CONNECTICUT.

By Rev. John Orcutt :—
New Haven—James Brewster, \$30, to constitute his wife Mrs. Mary Brewster, a life member of the Am. Col. Society; William Bostwick, \$25; W. S. Charnley, \$20; Prof. Salisbury, Mrs. Salisbury, Jeremiah Day, R. J. Ingersoll, Esq., J. Bishop, T. Sherman, A. Heaton, Henry White, Esq., "Durand Society," L. B. Judson, Rev. Alex. McWhorter, each \$10; J. W. Mitchell, Finch & Barnes, cash, A. Pierpont, E. C. Read, cash, H. N. Whittlesey, W. H. Elliott, H. Hotchkiss, R. Barritt, Charles A. Judson, Miss E. Robinson, M. G. Elliott, N. Peck, jr., Elisha Atwater, E. N. Thompson, S. D. Pardee, L. Pardee, R. B. Lockwood, Mrs. Devereux, Mrs. Hillhouse, A. H. Malby, Charles A. Ingersoll, Esq., Samuel E. Foote, Edwin Lee, H. Trowbridge, C. M. Ingersoll, Esq., Eli Blake, each \$5; Wm. Johnson, J. Aaketell, S. B. Jerome, each \$4; J. Nicholson, W. B. Bristol, Esq., C. B. Doolittle, D. S. Cooper, Charles Robinson, Esq., T. Lester, J. Winship, Mrs. Elisha Hull, Capt. A. H. Foote, J. C. English, Wm. Lewis, G. Mansfield, Mrs. Joel Root, each \$3; Mrs. S. B. Linsley, A. N. Skinner, E. H. B., H. Stevens, Misses Gerry, L. Hotchkiss, Miss Hillhouse, E.

9 00

C. Herrick, L. Baird, Mrs. Butterfield, H. Dutton, Esq., Rev. Ed. Strong, George King, H. Ives, Mrs. T. D. Wheeler, A. Bradley, S. Hayes, Mrs. Russell Hotchkiss, W. Peck, Charles L. English, Mrs. Laban Smith, E. Hotchkiss, N. Peck, each \$2; Rev. Dr. Cleaveland, E. Hotchkiss, Mrs. S. T. Phelps, J. McLagon, J. Parshley, H. Peck, F. Bradley, M. Tyler, G. Morse, C. Bostwick, D. W. Buckingham, Mrs. J. D. Bowditch, Mrs. M. L. Skinner, Mrs. Martin, Dr. Daggett, Dr. Foote, Mrs. Herrick, J. S. Hotchkiss, H. M. Welch, E. Marble, E. Benjamin, E. S. Minor, Rev. J. A. Root, C. B. Whittlesey, L. Cowles, F. W. Gilbert, C. W. Allen, L. Winship, S. E. Barney, G. P. Marvin, J. Wood, cash, S. B. Gorham, A. C. Wilcox, J. E. Wylie, Mrs. A. Trowbridge, L. Fitch, each \$1; Mrs. Allen, 50 cents. 459 50
Brandford—Lyman L. Squire . . . 10 00
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Hartford—Dr. Grant, \$6; Thos. Day, \$5; Miss A. Goodman, \$3; H. Seymour, S. G. Savage, J. D. Chapman, each \$1. 17 00
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By Rev. E. B. Cleghorn :—
Metairie—Franklin Pugh, Esq.,

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Urbana—Robert M. Woods, by Rev. E. B. Raffenerperger.....	5 00	
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MASSACHUSETTS.—By Rev. Jos. Tracy:—Georgetown—D. M. Winter, Robert Boyes, Haskell Perly, each \$1, for 1853, Mrs. Sally Nelson, \$2, for 1851 and 1852, \$5. Bradford—Isaac Morse, for '52, \$1. Springfield, Edward Palmer, \$2, for 1851 and 1852; Simon Smith, \$2, for 1851 and 1852; Josiah Hooker, to 1854, \$3. Salem—Mrs. L. Salatonstall, on account, \$8. Hingham—Hawkes Fearing, \$1, to July, 1857; David Fearing, \$1, to July, 1853; Morris Fearing, \$1, for 1853, \$3. Haverhill—By Capt. George Barker: Miss A. Hasseltine, \$1, to July, 1853; Leonard Johnson, W. R. Whittier, Moses D. George, Leonard Whittier, J. J. Marsh, Dr. Nichols, each \$1, to May, '54; Rev. A. Train, \$3, to March, 1854; Mrs. A. Kittredge, \$1, for 1853. Newburyport—Nathan Horton, \$1, to May, 1854; R. Robinson, \$1, for 1853, \$2....	37 00	
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